

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

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W. HOLMAN.

Some Underground Engineering

While the working class of Australia have been concentrating their fire on armaments and pointing out their vias of approach to the head of W. M. Hughes and his conscription scheme they have entirely lost sight of the fact that the employing class are in a position to force conscription upon them whenever they will and without the aid of legislative enactment.

The workers have failed to realise that the master class have continually at their service a recruiting sergeant whose call never fails: Unemployment and its inseparable companion, Starvation.

While the latter has been concentrating its efforts upon the defeat of the last recruiting proposal, the politicians and plutocrats have not been except. They have entered into a desperate conspiracy for which the dead and will have such a price as to force them to conscript themselves under the guise of voluntaryism.

At a Cabinet meeting held in February of this year Premier Holman laid a recruiting scheme before his colleagues for their consideration and finally for the approval of the Federal recruiting authorities. This scheme has proved to be the most damnable piece of political plotting, and premeditated treachery that has ever been handed out to the workers of this country. The following are the most important features of the suggestion—

1. The time when mere exhortation from the public platform would be effective has passed.

2. The necessities of the present moment are:

- (1) To create a new atmosphere.
- (2) To bring to bear new economic factors.

3. The atmosphere. To-day the general public are quite unaware of any alteration in the situation. Business, pleasure, amusement, and ordinary interests go on quite as usual.

4. Further than this, the press reports the ordinary subjects of news, supplemented by war news, as if the two were of equal interest.

5. Both of these factors must be corrected in order to create a better atmosphere.

6. Great restrictions should occur in amusements—

- (a) Theatres should be either partly closed or restricted to serious and patriotic subjects, or, if they do give entertainments, to accompany them by patriotic appeals.
- (b) Music halls and picture shows should be either partly closed or restricted to serious and patriotic subjects, or, if they do give entertainments, to accompany them by patriotic appeals.
- (c) The Stadium and other purely athletic displays should be entirely suppressed.
- (d) Racing should be considerably diminished.

7. The press should be placed under a well organised censorship. It should be forbidden—

- (1) To publish any report of social events;
- (2) Of race meetings;
- (3) Of athletic fixtures;
- (4) Of theatrical productions, except where those productions are of a serious or patriotic character approved of by the censor.

It should be forbidden to publish any war news under headlines of any kind. It should be compelled to publish at

stated intervals select articles describing the sufferings of the Allied peoples whose territory is in the occupation of the enemy and special articles comparing the measure of sacrifice endured by such Allies with that experienced in Australia.

8. Economic factors. A census should be taken of the whole of the men employed by the Railway Commissioners on duplication. Those who are unmarried and of military age should be demobilised—not necessarily simultaneously.

Arrangements should be made for them to be interviewed by recruiting sergeants, or preferably other recruiting agents. This should be done, not at the navy's camps, where the individuals will be surrounded by influences hostile to recruiting, but on their arrival at railway depots.

Properly organised arrangements should be made for leading them into the military camps.

9. Similar arrangements should be made with regard to the men now engaged by the Public Works Department.

10. Similar arrangements should be made in connection with the Harbor Trust and the Water and Sewerage Board. (Note—The staff of the Water and Sewerage Board cannot be reduced beyond a certain limit).

11. Most important. The employers of the State should be got together. They should be asked each to consider—

- (1) How far single men of military age can be replaced by married men and men over military age.
- (2) How they can be replaced by young men and boys.
- (3) How far they can be replaced by women.
- (4) How far they can be dispensed with altogether.

The industries of the State should be reorganised upon this footing. When this is done the employers should be invited to, as far as possible, dispense with men who ought to be defending the country.

12. It would be well worth while considering what papers there are advocating, under the guise of anti-conscription, the non-continuance of the war. As far as I am aware, there is no organisation within the Government following up publications of the press, and taking action where such action is necessary. This should be done. The Publicity Officer of my Department (Mr. Harpur), might be directed to obtain every paper which has a disloyal turn, report upon it with a view to consideration, and, if necessary, take action.

13. I take it for granted that the public men of the Commonwealth would, from day to day, make statements of the nature of exhortations which could appear under this scheme in the press, urging a cheerful acceptance of the sacrifice involved.

This master-piece of underground engineering is worthy of Holman; a man who has climbed to power upon the faith and gullibility of the working class, and who is now prepared, even eager, to sell the workers into a state of economic slavery far worse than that of military conscription in European countries.

The first demand on this memorandum is a remarkable one. "The time when mere exhortation from the public platform would be effective has passed."

W. H. Hughes is credited with having once made the following statement: "IF EVER THE TIME SHOULD COME WHEN MEN WILL REFUSE TO FIGHT FOR A COUNTRY THEN IT IS BECAUSE THAT COUNTRY IS ROTTEN TO THE CORE AND NOT WORTH

FIGHTING FOR." Mr. Holman evidently realises this fact, and the uselessness of appealing to the thinking portion of the working class with the usual jingoistic catch phrases.

The next item on the list for consideration is the desire to "Create a new atmosphere." The gentle and democratic method by which Holman proposes to bring this about is, "A MORE RIGID CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS." The press would be forced to create an atmosphere that usually emanates from a charnel house by "PUBLISHING AT STATED INTERVALS SELECT ARTICLES DESCRIBING THE SUFFERINGS OF THE ALLIED PEOPLES WHOSE TERRITORY IS IN THE HANDS OF THE ENEMY, AND SPECIAL ARTICLES COMPARING THE MEASURE OF SACRIFICE ENDURED BY SUCH ALLIES WITH THAT EXPERIENCED IN AUSTRALIA."

This amounts to a violent contortion of facts in order to play upon the sentiments of the people. It is an endeavour to cause a panic. While publishing "select" articles on the conditions prevailing in Allied countries, it would be highly instructive to inform the public of the economic conditions obtaining in these countries in times of peace. If such was the case, I am afraid that the workers would come to the conclusion that there was such a sameness as far as they (the workers) were concerned that not any country was worth fighting for. I find that the conditions of the working class are much the same in all countries, be they allies or enemies. The same wholesale exploitation, the same long hours of slavish toil, the same bitter spells of unemployment, the same poverty and slums, the same pressure of economic circumstances forcing women to barter their sex in order to live, the same bitterness of living and narrow outlook of life. And finally, the same class of wage slaves rushing up in a "patriotic" frenzy to cast death and desolation broadcast.

I certainly agree with Mr. Holman that a new atmosphere is wanted. A new atmosphere is being created—by the working class themselves, not of one country alone, but of the whole capitalised world. The industrial slaves, upon whose energy the whole superstructure of modern society rests, are slowly coming to the conclusion that this bloody holocaust, this insane grasping for foreign markets and international trade, is no concern of theirs, and, having definitely arrived at the foregoing conclusion, they will refuse to perpetuate the world madness called war. The time has now arrived when the workers are convinced of the truth of, and acts upon the words of Victor Hugo, "The cannons prey has begun to think, and, thinking twice, loses its admiration for being made a target."

In speaking of the people of the Allied countries, Mr. Holman forgets to explain that war is absolutely essential for the preservation of the present system of society. While the capitalist system exists we will have wars; while we have wars we will have brutal atrocities. War rouses all the atavistic instincts of man. It tears the cloak of civilisation aside and reveals the savage.

Speaking of atrocities brings to mind the South African (Boer war) atrocities, which occurred when Holman was a rabid anti-militarist, an ardent pacifist and a fire-eating "Pro-Boer."

The alleged German atrocities are to be deplored; almost as much as the murderous mutilations and inhuman treatment meted out to the natives of the Congo Free State by the Belgian soldiers a few years ago. The soldiers were acting in the interests of the Rubber Combine, whose chief shareholder was King Leopold of Belgium. However, murdering and mutilating peaceful natives is a mere bagatelle; let us return to the business of Mr. Holman.

In clauses 8, 9 and 11 are contained the most vital suggestions of the whole

scheme. In fact they constitute the foundation upon which the entire structure stands.

Holman proposes to force men into the army by a systematic scheme of starvation.

Clause 11 was marked by the Premier as "Most important." This clause invites the employing class to get together and see how far they can dispense with the services of single men of military age, and how far their place in industry can be filled by "young men, boys and women."

This introduction of cheap and efficient labour in the form of "boys and women" will prove a boon and blessing to the master class. The workers' standard of living will be lowered, wages will naturally be reduced and the competition between the sexes for "the right to work" will cause a further reduction.

Some workers are obsessed with the idea that women labour in industry will be dispensed with after the war. This is a mistaken notion of things. The capitalist class are even now showing their hands with regard to this question. The president of an English Chamber of Commerce recently stated that it was ridiculous and grossly unfair to think of discharging women workers after the war.

In section 4 of clause 11 the employer is asked to see how far the services of these men can be dispensed with altogether. This means a systematic weeding out, and a scientific method of speeding up. The card system of efficiency will be mere child's play compared with that gained by pitting the liberty of one worker against that of another.

Clause 12 of this interesting document deals with the suppression and prosecution of any paper that does not agree with the Millions Club outlook upon the war. This piece of star chamber intolerance places Holman in the front rank of hypocritical political liars. The average politician is a liar from a sense of false conviction. Holman is a liar through deliberate design. For the past few months he has been prating about a free press, in fact, at the beginning of the campaign he expressed the desire that the utmost freedom of press would be allowed.

How can Holman reconcile these two contradictory statements? Gaggling and suppressing the press behind the scenes while mouthing platitudes of a "free press" at the footlights.

At the time of going to press the question of conscription will have been decided. If the majority of the electors vote "No," then conscription, from a popular view point, will have been dispensed with.

Do not hull yourselves into a sense of false security. At the present time conscription is essential for the upkeep and further extension of industry, and the capitalist class will force a scientific conscription upon the workers by bringing economic pressure to bear.

If this scheme of wholesale dismissals, this starvation stunt is brought into force, how will you oppose it? What forces have you to combat it with? No means of fighting it at all, absolutely none.

An empty stomach is impervious to reason, and starvation is a relentless taskmaster.

The man who owns your job virtually owns you.

As long as the means of life by which the worker exists are owned and controlled by a master class, just so long will the workers, goaded on by the lash of hunger, obey the dictates of that master class. If the services required be taking the lives of fellow workers upon the battle-field, if it be shooting them down in industrial upheavals or patiently slaving in industrial bells, it matters not. In return for a bare subsistence is demanded, a slavish unquestioning obedience.

The emancipation of the working class lies in the overthrow of the capitalist system.

This can only be accomplished by the education and organisation of the workers of the world on class conscious lines.

Disorganised, the master class spurn, despise us. Organised, the master class no longer exist.

W. THOMAS,

115 Goulburn St.

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The Referendum.

UNDERLYING MOTIVES.

All through this conscription campaign
this paper has endeavoured to point out
that conscription is not so much a mili-
tary question, as an economic or indus-
trial proposition.The military position of the Allies
NOW is not nearly so favourable as it
was in October, 1916. Yet the same people
and the same press which assured us
THEN that 16,500 men per month were
needed assures us that 7000 men will suf-
fice NOW, when the position is far worse.
Strange, my friend, strange, indeed!We rivet our attention on the economic
or industrial position because we know
that the present war arises from the eco-
nomic state of society—from the fact
that there are two great classes in so-
ciety. One is the necessary **working class**,
while the other is the **capitalist class**, an
economically useless class, which owns the
machinery of wealth-production—the
mills, mines and factories.By virtue of their ownership of these—
the avenues of employment for the wage
workers—the capitalists thus own the
workers, whose only asset is their com-
modity **labour-power**, which commodity
is bought and sold in the labour market,
at a price fixed by the same economic
laws, as the commodity, meat, is priced in
the meat market.The price of this commodity of the
working class, labour power, is called
wages, and this is, on the average, equi-
valent to that **fraction of the wealth pro-
duced** which (at best) keeps them on the
subsistence-level. Just that sum as will
purchase for them "necessary" food,
clothing and shelter—just that sum spok-
en of by forty-pounds-a-week Arbitration
Court Judges as a "living wage"—just
that sum is their portion.Therefrom arises this position: this eco-
nomic fact:—The workers in any particular country
cannot buy back the **total of the wealth
they have produced**. Consequently other
markets—foreign markets—have to be
found as the outlet for the flood of sur-
plus commodities, which the capitalist
class must get rid of for profit purposes.
Cutting out of these foreign markets
means death to the capitalist competitor.
Hence the trade competition between na-
tions. Hence schemes and fights for trade
advantages, "spheres of influence" (trad-
ing regions), "protectorates" (fine
word!), coal iron, potash and petroleum
districts, coastal strips, or outlets in the
shape of ports. Hence wars—in which
the exploited or robbed working classes
are asked, or forced, to stop the hurrying
bullet, the flying iron-foundry, or the
screaming shell.The trade competition game was bitter
before this war broke out, and it will be
bitterer still when the war ceases. Al-
ready the nations are preparing. "Trade
After the War" is the popular theme of
the capitalist class, its press and its poli-
tical lackeys. "Production must be in-

CHRISTMAS.

"Peace on Earth"

"Peace and goodwill, goodwill and peace,
Peace and goodwill to all mankind."This year I slept and woke with pain,
I almost wished no more to wake,
And that my hold on life would break,
Before I heard those bells again.To-night ungathered let us leave
This laurel, let this holly stand;
We stand within a stranger's land,
And strangely falls our Christmas eve.As the time draws near Christmas, and
our eye falls on these lines, they seem sin-
gularly applicable to the state of affairs
which exists at the present time.In times past, although we realise that
for the working class Christmas has
never had its full significance, yet there
have been times when the spirit of the
season has prevailed and happy meetings
have taken place, and for a few hours
wage slavery and its attendant miseries
have been forgotten and nothing remem-
bered but the circle of beloved faces
around the fire, and that the bells were
ringing for Christmas.For the last three years, however,
Xmas has entirely lost its significance;
only fools can talk about "Peace and
Goodwill," when thousands of our bro-
thers are busy killing each other, and
when the best of good news consists of
the fact that so many of the enemy have
been slaughtered.Bad, however, as the past years have
been, the Xmas of 1917 bids fair to break
the record as far as hopelessness, misery,
desolation, starvation and want are con-
cerned, how many hundreds are wishing
"no more to wake," to face the horrors
of a lonely, poverty stricken Xmas day.The whole of the year which has nearly
run its course, has been one long series of
disasters for the workers; with the turn-
ing down of the conscription issue of
1916, came a cutting down of expenses on
the part of the capitalist and an endeav-
our to conscribe men by starvation; bywhittled away—"unskilled" labour has
taken the place of skilled—women have
is dead." The achievements of Unionism
have been rendered null and void. Trade
customs and rights have been diluted and
duced to the status of the old-time chat-
tel slaves, at the beck and call of a mili-
tary autocracy.In France the effect is the same. Ac-
cording to M. Thomas (former Minister
in the French Cabinet) "Trade Unionism
creased"; "Scientific Management"—the
polite word for speeding up; "Dilution
of Industries"—whereby the individual
tradesman is robbed of the monetary
benefits of his technical skill and craft;
"the industries must be organised, as
they are in England"—that is on the
basis of WOMAN and CHILD labor;
these are the cries of the conscription-
ists—cries sheltered behind the veil of
Patriotism.For the Capitalist Class standing be-
hind the newspapers, which mould the
opinions of thousands of human echoes—
for the Capitalist Class conscription means
a harvest.The conscription machine is undoubt-
edly the greatest union paralysing ever
known.In Great Britain to-day under con-
scription, military control obtains in in-
dustries. Unionism is dead, except in
name. Chinese have been introduced in
thousands. The industries are organised
on the basis of WOMAN and CHILD labor
on the good old CHEAP labor basis. In
the munition factories Boyd Cable, the
Australian author, tells us in "Doing
Their Bit" that **women work 87½ hours
per week—no Sunday holiday**. Fine, eh?
Especially when one remembers that re-
cently it was admitted in the British
House of Commons that their wages are
in many cases 2½d and 3d per hour. Fine,
eh? For the profit-mongers!As the system of "clearances" is in
vogue, no worker can leave a "control-
led" factory unless he or she gets the per-
mission of his or her employer even if of-
fered higher wages elsewhere. Thus the
unfortunate and helpless workers are re-the beginning of the New Year, the un-
employed army was increasing by leaps
and bounds, and many a man had, last
Xmas, to carry home the intelligence to
his wife that his boss would no longer
exploit him.The unemployment got worse, and food
and clothing dearer, and matters reached
such a state that when the employing
class carried their tyranny to the pitch
of introducing the card system, thus tend-
ing to still further recruit the unemploy-
ed army, the workers revolted and came
out on strike against the rotten conditionsThe strike was, perhaps, the culminat-
ing point of the tragedy; it is of course
common talk what a ghastly failure it
was, and unfortunately the results of the
failure are still miserable realities, and
make themselves visibly felt among the
victims, principally women and children,
of the strike.And then having beaten and bruised
the workers, the master class are drag-
ging their old bogey of German militar-
ism, and Empire worship across the
track once more, and urging the workers
to put the last rivet in the shackles that
bind them. Whether they will do so or
not yet remains to be seen.In case they do, we shall undoubtedly
have the most hopeless Xmas that has
ever dawned for the workers; if they do
not, then may we hope that they are be-
ginning to rouse from their slumbers and
resolve that all these things shall cease.In any case, it behoves we men and
women of the working class to look our
situation square in the face. Whether
conscription is carried or not, the system
remains, but if it is turned down the
workers will have more chance of com-
bating it, because it is a recognised fact
that conscription, as we know it to-day,
threatens with all the terrors of militar-
ism, all those workers who dare to cry out
for better conditions.

Let us hope then that we shall be cele-

been installed in the place of men—child-
ren have taken the place of adults.
And the wages? They're nearly as HIGH
as those of their exploited English sis-
ters! Lovely again for Plute!And New Zealand. Unionism there, is
like the "Thou shalt not kill" command-
ment of the code. It excites a derisive
smile from the capitalist class as it gazes
on its ruins.When the Seamen's Union there sought
to secure conditions that would make life
reasonably safe, the Government seized
the general secretary and the assistant
secretary, and flung them into gaol with
sentences of three months. The same Gov-
ernment has under the War Regulations
paid the Union Steamship Company nearly
three million pounds for the hire of a
few of its boats, although Sir Joseph
Ward had said that the whole of the Un-
ion Company's fleet could be bought for
a million and a half.The Brisbane "Daily Telegraph" in its
issue, Oct. 16, 1916, shows clearly why
conscription threatens. In its leading ar-
ticle on that date it said, "There re-
mains in our midst a powerful enemy
called political trade unionism. The poli-
tical trade unionist is a man to be dealt
with both before the end of the war and
after. Voting "Yes" by a majority will
be the deadliest blow ever dealt trade
unionism." That is the motive behind
the Prussians' scheme.The imposition of conscription is for
the capitalist class a barrier flung against
the awakening workers, who, slowly be-
ginning to focus their attention on the
economic side of social questions and na-
tional wars, are beginning to ask them-
selves:—"Who made the Law that Death should
stalk the valleys?
Who spake the word to kill among the
sheaves?Who gave it forth that Death should lurk
in hedge-rows?
Who flung the dead among the fallen
leaves?

Who made the Law?

V. CRAIG,
115 Goulburn St., City.To you, Tom Paine, great Freedom's chosen
priest.To you, Will Morris, who joined the West and
East.To you, Karl Marx, who wrote our Book of
Life.To you, De Leon, Knight of Love and Strife,
To all of you, brave comrades, who have
bled.And, bleeding, died beneath the Flag of Red,
To all of you be love and laud to-day.And as you showed us, still we carve our way.
—JOYCE KILMER, in an American paper.brating a great victory by the time you
read this; but if we are, we must not lose
sight of the important fact that it is only
a step on our way to freedom. It is nearly
2000 years since the angels are alleged to
have sung "On earth peace and goodwill
towards men," and at the end of that
time what do we find? The answer is so
obvious that it need not be written: as I
have already stated, this Xmas bids fair
to be the most warlike and utterly devoid
of "Goodwill" that the world has ever
seen.Surely, men and women of the working
class, when we realise that we are 85 per-
cent. of the population of the world, and
are the producers of everything, all the
good things which abound in this world
to-day, being developed by us; when we
realise this fact, and at the same time
realise that after 2000 years, at the end
season of the year, when everything is
supposed to be happy and joyful, 15 per-
cent. of the world's population only are
occupying the position of luxury and
wealth, and the rest of us are living in
poverty and starvation, then, surely, we
must come to an understanding of our
position in society. Surely we must come
up against the fact that we are plunged
in a war, which is the only war that the
workers have any interest in; and while
we are ever fighting the class war, we
know that "Peace and goodwill" can
never be for us.However, although things look so black
at the present time, there is a little star
of hope which bids us take courage,
which bids us tighten the buckles of our
armour and brace ourselves for a renewed
conflict, resolving at the same time that
it shall be a final and victorious one.Our comrades in all parts of the world
are waking up, and we must do like-
wise; throughout the world labour is at
last coming to realisation of its true
position, and is rising in its might, vow-
ing that slavery and bondage have exist-
ed long enough, and that liberty and
equality shall overthrow them.Shall we Australian workers refuse to
profit by their example? Surely not!
Think of the conditions existing, and of
those that should exist; think of the mar-
vellous abundance of products in the
world and of the hunger and wretched-
ness which stalk visibly through it; think
of the fine, lofty houses and palace which
we build for our masters, and the misera-
ble hovels in which we drag out our own
existence. Think of the beauty which
lies all around us, of the cool mountain
districts, and breezy beaches, which seem
so alluring in the hot summer weather,
and of the fact that we can't enjoy them,
can't afford the time or money to get to
them; think of the Xmas season, what it
should mean, and with hot, snarling
eyes, of what it **does** mean; more worry,
more anxiety, more privation, more
trouble in every way. Think of all these
things, and then do away with them for
good.As this Christmas dawns in misery, let
next Christmas dawn full of hope for the
workers, during the next 12 months much
may be done, and it rests with us alone
whether when next Christmas comes
around, we shall be nearer to a fuller re-
alisation of its significance. In any case,
while we listen to the bells that ring so
sadly on our ears, let us take heart once
more and cry in those well known words
of Tennyson:—Ring out the old, ring in the new,
Ring, happy bells, across the snow;
The year is going, let him go;
Ring out the false, ring in the true.Ring out old shapes of foul disease;
Ring out the narrowing lust of gold;
Ring out the thousand wars of old,
Ring in the thousand years of peace.Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand;
Ring out the darkness of the land,
Ring in the Christ that is to be.

MARCIA REARDON.

115 Goulburn St., Sydney.

Patriotism

By J. M. G.

Patriotism, the last resort of a scoundrel, applies just as aptly today as when used many years ago by Dr. Johnson. The patriotism of the Capitalist class is quite natural and easily understood. They, as the possessing class, have everything to gain by the continuation of the present system of society. They are top dog and naturally wish to continue in that position.

Their position as top dog enables them in times of peace as of war to annex all the good things of this life. Having control of the political machinery of State, with the productive and distributive forces. They have the mass of the people under their thumb, and compel them to submit to any conditions they deem fit, to their own selfish interests.

By the machinery at their disposal they are able to create an environment that moulds the psychology of the masses, and the mental links that compels them to see society, not from the point of view of the interest of the masses, but from the distorted view of identity of interest with Capital.

The ruling class in all past phases of societies as to-day have played upon the emotions of the subject class. The same process with very little variation, has been used. "no case, please the other side," it may be "nation and children outraged," our "country," "culture," "civilization," or any of the hundred and one shibboleths that may fit the particular enemy, are trotted out to hypnotise the masses into a patriotic fervour that will make them servile tools to fight the battles of the master class. The enthusiasm worked up is such that they become mad for the time being and are not responsible for their actions, more especially those that fight their country's battles by staying at home. The enthusiasm of these stay-at-homes is such that if they were in the trenches they would be a menace to their comrades, who in their own interests would have to put them in straight jackets to prevent them doing for the enemy on their own initiative, and thereby upset the plans of the military authorities.

This so called patriotism of the Capitalist class is a veneer of the thinnest type. At the base of it is profits, more profits, and still more profits. They have sold themselves body and soul for profits, and have in the past sold their country, as was done by the Capitalists of France to the Germans in 1871, during the Paris commune, and will do so again if they can see profits in the transaction. To these parasites there is no patriotism, it is a slapdash sentiment used to gull the unthinking masses, making them the ready tools of scheming politicians and wire-pulling profit-mongers eager to annex the markets of the world to dispose of the surplus values stolen from the workers. Their so-called patriotism has never stood in the way of fleecing the public. It is rotten to the core, and will go the way of all shibboleths and make way for the broader expanding new life that is behind, the international solidarity of the human race, irrespective of race or colour.

The patriotic and benevolent (?) lords of industry are working the confidence trick of emotional patriotism for all it is worth. It is an emotion that involves the ethic of rogues. How proud the British should be to belong to the mighty Empire "upon which the sun never sets." The Union Jack, they are told, is seen in every seaport on the earth's surface. The "heroic patriots dying for their country," a country they never had any claim upon, and which has always denied to the majority the right to live as human beings and participate in that superior culture of which at present we hear so much.

The day is not far distant when the cant of patriotism, with all the sentimental dash of dying for "our country" will lose its force to induce the workers of any country to slaughter the workers of another.

The nauseous cant about heroes, and the glories of war, will soon be recognised as neither heroic nor glorious, but merely manifestations of those primitive qualities inherited from our Simian ancestors, without the excuse they had for fighting.

The dry bone of patriotism circumscribed to nationality is about to give place to the ideal of humanity on an international plane. The economic forces are forming within the national societies, that must find expression in the closer union. The law of evolution determined by those economic forces will compel the national units to unite on an international basis, creating an environment that will kill the patriotism that is exploited today by the national Capitalists, and will open the broader vista of humanity as a whole, making clearer to the workers the

The Coming Revolution Revolutionary Unionism

Speech Delivered by Eugene V. Debs at Chicago, November 25, 1905.

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE).

The mode of production since that time has been practically revolutionised. The hand tool has all but disappeared. The mammoth machine has taken its place. The hand tool was made and used by the individual worker and was largely within his own control. To-day the machine that has supplanted the old tool is not owned nor controlled by the man, or rather the men, who use it. As I have already said, it is the private property of some capitalist who may live at a remote point and never have seen the machine or the wage slaves who operate it.

In other words, the production of wealth, in the evolution of industry, from being an individual act a half a century ago has now become a social act. The tool, from being an individual tool, has become a social instrument. So that the tool has been socialised and production has also been socialised. But evolution is yet to complete its work. This social tool, made socially and used socially, must be socially owned.

In the evolution of industry the trade has been largely undermined. The old trade union expresses the old form of industry, the old mode of individual production based upon the use of the individual tool. That tool has about disappeared; that mode of production has also about disappeared, but the trade union built upon that mode of production, springing from the use of the hand tool, remains essentially the same.

The pure and simple trade union, in seeking to preserve its autonomy, is forced into conflict with other trade unions by the unceasing operation of the laws of industrial evolution. How many of the skilled trades that were in operation half a century ago are still practised?

At the town where I live there used to be quite a number of cooper shops. Barrels were made by hand and a cooper shop consisted wholly of coopers. The coopers' union was organised and served fairly well the purposes of the coopers of that day, but it does not serve the purposes of the workers who make barrels to-day. They do not make barrels in the way they used to be made. To-day we want a union that expresses the economic interests of all the workers in the cooperage plant engaged in making and handling barrels. But a few coopers still remain, a very few. It is no longer necessary to be a cooper to make a barrel. The machine makes the barrel, and almost anyone can operate the machine that makes the barrel.

You will observe that labor has been

bodies of the workers. But turn again to the European continent. In 1834 young Germany, young Poland, and young Italy took action in reply to the Declaration of the Holy Alliance of Despots, and at Berne, April 15, signed the Act of Fraternity, an alliance offensive and defensive. Again, in the Central European Democratic Committee, the Russian revolutionary parties were represented by Alexander Herzen, 1850 to 1854. In 1847-8 we had the Socialist programme of Karl Marx and Engels, the basis of what is termed Modern Socialism, and soon we had, besides the Republican movement with its social programme, thorough Socialist organisations in different parts of the country.

But for a moment let us look where we are to-day as compared with 50 or 70 years ago. Let us take the question of principle. Let us go back even to 1793. Take the Jacobin constitution of the year. Article 25 reads: "The sovereignty resides in the people and every portion of the people. It is one and indivisible; unscriptable and invulnerable." Anacharsis Clootz declared: "Properly speaking, there is but one power—that of the people." Robespierre and Rousseau: "The deputies of the people can never be its representatives." "The people must always remain sovereign." Again, in 1850, after the treasons of 1848-9 and 50 of the Assemblies elected by manhood suffrage in Germany and France, direct legislation by the people (the referendum) became the rallying cry of all the revolutionary forces in Europe.

This article, by John Sketchley, is from "Political and Social Movements," chapter 3 on "International Young Europe."

subdivided and specialised and that the trade has been dissipated; and now a body of men and boys works together co-operatively in the making of a barrel, each making a small part of a barrel. Now we want a union which embraces all the workers engaged in making barrels. We lose sight of the cooper trade as evolution has practically disposed of that. We say that since the trade has completely changed, the union which expressed that trade must also change accordingly. In the new union we shall include not only the men who are actually engaged in the making of barrels directly, but also those who are helping indirectly in placing them upon the market. There are the typewriters, the bookkeepers, the teamsters, and all other classes of labor that are involved in the making and delivering of the barrels. We insist that all the workers in the whole of any given plant shall belong to one and the same union.

This is the very thing the workers need and the capitalist who owns the establishment does not want. He believes in labor unionism if it is the right kind. And if it is the right kind for him it is the wrong kind for you. He is more than willing that his employees shall join the craft union. He has not the slightest objection. On the contrary, it is easily proven that capitalists are the most active upholders of the old craft unions.

The capitalists are perfectly willing that you shall organise, as long as you don't do a thing to them; as long as you don't do a thing for yourselves. You cannot do a thing for yourselves without antagonising them; and you don't antagonise them through your craft unions nearly as much as you buttress their interests and prolong their mastery.

The average working man imagines that he must have a leader to look to; a guide to follow, right or wrong. He has been taught in the craft union that he is a very dependent creature; that without a leader the goblins would get him without a doubt, and he therefore instinctively looks to his leader. And even while he is looking at his leader there is some one else looking at the same leader from the other side.

You have depended too much on that leader and not enough on yourself. I don't want you to follow me. I want you to cultivate self-reliance.

If I have the slightest capacity for leadership I can only give evidence of it by leading you to rely upon yourselves.

As long as you can be led by an individual, you will be betrayed by an individual. That does not mean that all leaders are dishonest or corrupt. I make no such sweeping indictment. I know that many of them are honest. I know also that many of them are in darkness themselves, blind leaders of the blind. That is the worst that can be said of them. And let me say to you that the most dangerous leader is not the corrupt leader, but the honest, ignorant leader. That leader is just as fatal to your interests as the one who deliberately sells you out for a consideration.

You are a workingman! Now, at your earliest leisure look yourself over and take an inventory of your resources. Invoice your mental stock; see what you have on hand.

You may be of limited mentality; and that is all you require in the capitalist system. You need only small brains, but huge hands.

Most of your hands are calloused and you are taught by the capitalist politician, who is the political mercenary of the capitalist who fleeces you, you are taught by him to be proud of your horny hands. If that is true he ought to be ashamed of his hands. He doesn't have any horns on his hands. He has them on his brain. He is as busy with his brain as you are with your hands, and because he is busy with his brain and you neglect yours, he gets a goodly share of what you produce with your hands. He is the gentleman who calls you the horny-handed sons of toil. That fetches you every time. I tell you that the time has come for you to use your brains in your own interest, and until you do that you will have to use your hands in the interest of your masters.

Now, after you have looked yourself over; after you have satisfied yourself what you are, or rather, what you are not, you will arrive at the conclusion that as a wage worker in capitalist society you are not a man at all. You are simply a thing. And that thing is bought in the labor market, just as hair, hides

Continued on Page 4.

position they stand in relation to Capital, and revealing in unmistakable language that the interests of all workers, irrespective of country, race or colour, are identical, and stand opposed to those of the Capitalist class.

Such is the law of evolution as shown in the development of human societies. First, the tribe with its primitive needs, expanding to the nation by the grouping of a number of tribes, owing to economic conditions, leading to groups of nations forming economic or what is usually termed commercial treaties, eventually giving place to the international or world-wide federation of humanity.

—"The International," South Africa.

Revolutionary Unionism.

Continued from Page 3.

and other forms of merchandise are bought.

When the capitalist requires the use of your hands, does he call for men? Why, certainly not. He doesn't want men, he only wants hands. And when he calls for hands, that is what he wants. Have you ever seen a placard posted: "Fifty hands wanted"? Did you ever know of a capitalist to respond to that kind of an invitation?

President Roosevelt would have you believe that there are no classes in the United States. He was made president by the votes of the working class. Did you ever know of his stopping over night in the home of a workingman? Is it by mere chance that he is always sheltered beneath the hospitable roof of some plutocrat? Not long ago he made a visit here and he gave a committee representing the workers about fifteen minutes of his precious time, just time enough to rebuke them with the intimation that organised labor consisted of a set of law-breakers, and then he gave fifteen hours to the plutocrats of Chicago, being wined and dined by them to prove that there are no classes in the United States, and that you, horny-handed veteran, with your wage of 1 dol. 50 cents a day, with six children to support on that, are in the same class with John D. Rockefeller! Your misfortune is that you do not know you are in the same class. But on election day it dawns upon you and you prove it by voting the same ticket.

Since you have looked yourself over thoroughly, you realise by this time that, as a workingman, you have been supporting, through your craft unions and through your ballots, a social system that is the negation of your manhood.

The capitalist for whom you work doesn't have to go out and look for you; you have to look for him, and you belong to him just as completely as if he had a title to your body; as if you were his chattel slave.

He doesn't own you under the law, but he does under the fact.

Why? Because he owns the tool with which you work, and you have got to have access to that tool if you work; and if you want to live you have got to work. If you don't work you don't eat; and so, scourged by hunger pangs, you look about for that tool and you locate it, and you soon discover that between yourself, a workingman, and that tool that is an essential part of yourself in industry, there stands the capitalist who owns it. He is your boss; he owns your job, takes your product and controls your destiny. Before you can touch that tool to earn a dime you must petition the owner of it to allow you to use it, in consideration of your giving to him all you produce with it, except just enough to keep you alive and in working order.

(To be continued.)

FORWARD, COMRADES!

Forward, comrades, forward.
Our day is drawing nigh;
The dawn that we have dreamt of
Is reddening all the sky.

Forward, comrades, forward.
The cunning few to foil—
For mind ye, pen and hammer,
Are brothers in the toil.

Forward, comrades, forward.
Strike home for human right,
One last united effort,
Should end the age-long fight.

Forward, comrades, forward.
That bloodless victory
May leave no cause for battles,
Nor leave one man unfree!

EDWIN BJORKMAN.

THE AVENGERS OF BLOOD.

In this your exaltation and high fame
Rejoice, O sons of Justice, chosen and sealed
Of Nemesis, just Ate's arm revealed
To smite the slayers and spare not: round each name
Is twined an infamy, Destruction's flame
Burns at their bidding, yea each blasted field,
Whose dews are blood-drops and whose harvests yield
Dumb agonies, proclaims their deathless shame.

Though palace-porch and rampired citadel,
Be theirs to flee to, may no refuge save
The foul imperial drinkers of men's blood;
Unsheath thy sword, O Justice, let the knell
Of Tyranny be sounded, and a wave
Whelm the last Pharaoh in its parted flood!

ERNEST JONES.

A. S. P.

NEWS AND NOTES.

THE "ANTI" CAMPAIGN.

Proof of the general appreciation of the party's attitude on the conscription issue is to be seen in the continued demands from many quarters for the services of our speakers.

At the request of the Bulli-Woonona Anti-Conscription League the general secretary spent five days on a propaganda tour of part of the south coast.

Excellent meetings were held at Bulli, Thirroul, Coledale, Coalcliff, Scarborough and Corramal, at all of which the audiences responded splendidly to the appeal to their class instinct, in place of the usual "cold-foot" arguments that have rendered the campaign nauseous to the intelligent working man. There is a goodly sprinkling of unattached rebels on the south coast, and it is to be hoped that they will link up in the near future and give the Corramal comrades a lift in their attempt to organise the whole of that district. It's easy to say you're a rebel, but it's actual organising work that counts. Now, comrades, you need the party, and the party needs you. What about joining up.

A. S. REARDON,
Gen. Sec.

115 Goulburn St., City.

MT. LARCOM BRANCH.

At our last business meeting, the resolution sent in by the Ipswich Branch, and appearing in the "I.S." of October, the 27th, was brought up, and we contend that our Ipswich comrades have made a mistake in wording that motion is not Capitalistic methods in every country the same? Then why use the words, "Prussianised methods"? Is not capitalism wherever we go? Is there any difference between French, English, or any other ruling class methods? Of course not! They all use the brutality towards the working-class.

Re Unity Debate, between the A.S.P. and S.L.P., we suggest that both parties drop their names and take the name of the "International Socialist Party of Australasia." Why this split up of working-class unity? If ever we want unity it is now, comrades. Let us get together in one solid body. The time is at hand, and we must have unity; for unity alone will save us.

Comrades Gordon Brown and J. W. Roche are up this way and on the warpath. They are putting in great work, and have been having good meetings, wherever they have been. They spoke at Mt. Larcom on the 12th, delivering great speeches. They spoke on the referendum from a working-class standpoint, showing what a curse conscription will be to the workers if it should pass. They also dealt with wars, pointing out that all wars are capitalistic, and are only for the capitalists' greed and the breaking down of any working-class unity; also that the only way to end wars was by building up a strong International Movement among the toilers.

We had "little Billy" up here, and he has been playing the very devil with everything and everybody. He started off at Ryan, the Premier, and said—"I'll have you in forty-eight hours." Then came the "Battle of Warwick," and it is said that in the near future it might appear in the Press that under a War Precautions Regulation all the poultry in Warwick will not be allowed to lay eggs—fresh or otherwise—during the war and three months after.

So far as we can see, Billy's trip to Queensland has done more to make the NO vote larger than otherwise.

CHAS. JACOBSON,
Mt. Larcom, Queensland.

INTERNATIONAL ANTHEM.

Sons of men, awake, arise!
With the morning in your eyes,
Show your days what you can do,
Labor, conquer and subdue—
All the world belongs to you;
Sons of men, awake, arise!

Sons of men, go hand in hand,
Brethren born in every land,
Out of every tribe and place,
Pouring on with equal pace,
Kindred blood and kindred race,
Sons of men, go hand in hand!

Sons of men, what wait you for,
Marching to the mighty war?
Puny bars your progress mock,

Who are the Christians?

At this season, when from thousands of pulpits the Xmas story of "Peace on earth, goodwill to all men" will be told, the following article by the late Daniel de Leon, written in 1912, will be a very appropriate one to be put into the hands of all men:

With conflagration threatening all Europe as the immediate consequence of the butchery, with its resultant pestilence, famine and woe, in the Balkans, who is it that raises the cry of "Peace on earth"? Is it, perchance, the court chaplains, the "ordained" gentlemen, keepers of the conscience of the rulers?

Or is it, perchance, the masters of the large industrial plants on the continent and British isles, of whom and for whom it has been claimed that "though business is industrial war, it promotes military peace"?

Or is it, perchance, the prelates, whom these business concerns keep in high pay—is it, perchance, any of them, so ready otherwise politically to denounce Socialism as a "breeder of strife"?

Or, considering that these ostentatiously Christian elements are, all of them, too near the storm centre not to succumb to the "force of environment," and, therefore, extending charity to them, what about their kin on this side of the waters? Is it, perchance, these acts who, being untrammelled by compelling circumstances, give free vent to their much boasted of Christianity, and urge their kin in Europe that peace be on earth?

No; it is none of these from whom the cry for "Peace!" goes up. On the contrary. Many of them are tugging hard for bloodshed, while not from a single pulpit has the command of the Prince of Peace been heard. In so far as pulpit-cordons has been heard from, it has been to pronounce blessings upon the instruments of war and upon the draperies that represent the same.

Is, then, the world still primitively barbarian, loving blood and delighting in the measures to shed it? No. There is balm in Gilead. There is a camp many millions strong that encircles the globe, and which, to the extent that it was physically possible to have all its constituencies represented, has met in Basle, Switzerland, and there caused its collective voice to be heard against the "business" and "dynastic" interests that require, that thrive upon, and that demand war. That camp is the Socialist camp. Upon its collective brow rests the Star of Peace—that camp. That camp alone represents all that is worthy in the term "Christianity."

ESSAY COMPETITION.

The winners of the November competition are: "Conscientious Objector" on "Thrift," and H. Deafer, on "Unemployment."

Essays published are not necessarily endorsed.

We have decided to give two prizes for the best two essays on two set subjects. The prize winners will have the choice of a book from the list that will be submitted to them.

The two subjects will be published in the first issue of each month, and the M.S.S. must reach this office before the end of the month.

The essays are to consist of not more than one thousand words.

Write clearly in ink and leave plenty of room for editing.

Head essay with "Essay Competition," followed by the subject.

The essays will be judged: 1st, according to matter; 2nd, on general structure. We are endeavouring to find thinkers, not grammarians.

The subjects for the competition ending January 31, 1918, are:—(1) "The Drink Evil"; (2) "Prostitution."

Stay not till those bars unlock—
You can burst them with your shock,
Sons of men, what wait you for?

Sons of men, your hour has come,
Hearts that beat the signal drum;
Doubting and delay are past,
Fall they slow or fall they fast,
Every foe must fall at last,
Sons of men, your hour has come!

Sons of men, supreme, sublime,
For you waits the spoils of time!
All the works your kind has done,
All the heights your fathers won,
Bid you keep where they began,
Sons of men, supreme, sublime!

ALLEN UPWARD.

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office.

BROKEN HILL.

Socialist Hall, Sulphide St.

All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

47 Victoria St., Melbourne.

Library and Reading Room for members.
Lectures held every Sunday Evening.
Economic Class every Wednesday evening.
Visitors welcomed.

MT. LARCOM.

Secretary, Chas. Jacobson, Mt. Larcom, via Gladston.

NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Hall: Hatto's Arcade, King St., Newtown.

Library for Members.
Business meeting held alternate Thursday evening.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Hall: 369 Pitt St., City.

Library for members.
Lecture every Sunday evening.
Debating class held every Monday evening.
Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening.
Dance every Friday evening.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY
LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Ancient Society—Lewis H. Morgan; cloth, 6/-; posted, 6/3.

Britain for the British—R. Blatchford; paper cover, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Capital—Karl Marx; 3 vols., 8/- each; posted, 8/6.

Charles Darwin and Karl Marx—E. Aveling; paper, 3d.; posted, 4d.

Economic Discontent—Father T. J. Hagerty; paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

Economics of Socialism—H. M. Hyndman; cloth, 3/6; posted, 3/9.

Human Slaughter House—W. Lamazus; paper, 1/6; posted, 1/8.

Introduction to Socialism—N. A. Richardson; paper, 3d.; posted, 4d.

Love's Coming of Age—E. Carpenter; cloth, 1/6; posted, 1/8.

Landmarks of Scientific Socialism—Engels; cloth, 4/.

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Positive School of Criminology—Enrico Ferri; cloth, 2/-; posted, 2/2.

Principles of Scientific Socialism—Rev. Vaie; paper, 1/-; posted, 1/1.

Right to be Lazy—P. Lafargue; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Socialism the Goal of Civilisation—paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

IMPORTANT.

When ordering literature it is well to add the cost of registration (3d.). This is necessary to guarantee delivery.

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